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SOURCE

Kazakhstanskaya Pravda.

LOCAL PARTY INSTRUCTORS HIT
NON-POLITICAL ASSIGNMENTS

The conflict between mass-political and administrative activities of local Party workers and organizations is frequently criticized in the Soviet press. A recent discussion in the Kazakh SSR showed this conflict in the case of instructors of rayon Party committees. The instructor (instruktor) is described as the liaison between the primary Party organization and the rayon Party committee and between the rayon and oblast Party committees. His chief duties are said to include aiding the Party organizations assigned to him to correct their shortcoming in carrying out Party decisions, and teaching Communists of primary Party organizations the "principles of Bolshevik leadership." It is explained that the work of instructors is very important in the Kazakh SSR, because almost half of the primary organization secretaries have only 6 months to one year's experience, and more than 16 percent of them have joined the Party in the last 3 years. However, the instructors complain that they are not being assigned to carry out their designated functions, that rayon committee secretaries send them as "deputy chairmen of kolkhozes" to check on administrative affairs rather than to conduct political and organizational Party work. The instructors insist that they be allowed to perform their own Party function and that rayon Party secretaries train and aid them toward that end.

The following discussion shows not only the function and duties of the rayon Party committee instructor, but is also an example of the type of public debate which the Party encourages in the form of "criticism and self-criticism" in which a problem is brought up and thrashed out by Party members. Zh. Rakhimbayev, an instructor of the Novo-Pokrovskiy Rayon Party Committee in Semipalatinsk Oblast, wrote a letter entitled, "Smoldering Questions," which appeared in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda on 18 September 1949. The author stated that,

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in the 2 years he had been an instructor, many questions about their work had bothered him and his comrades and that he wished to raise them and hear the opinions of other Party workers. Excerpts from Rakhimbayev's letter follow.

The Party organization of the "25 let LKSMK" Kolkhoz was very lax. There was no feeling of responsibility for kolkhoz operations nor for meeting the state plans; private-property tendencies were becoming more exaggerated, to the detriment of public property; accounting of labor was impossible; and discipline was disorganized. The Party secretary seldom called meetings, avoided discussing kolkhoz problems, and himself appeared to be prey to private-property tendencies. After a new Party secretary was appointed, assignments of Communists were reviewed, and Party control over important sectors of kolkhoz production was strengthened. Only two, instead of five, of the ten kolkhoz Communists continued to work in the administrative office. Measures for curbing violations of kolkhoz regulations were worked out at a Party meeting and were approved at a meeting of the kolkhoz members. Communists undertook decisions on important economic-political tasks and strictly observed kolkhoz regulations. All of this had a salutary effect on the kolkhoz economy.

This example of Party organization convinced me of the great importance to the rayon committee instructor of direct connections with primary Party organizations, on-the-spot study of kolkhoz life, and teaching methods of Party work to Communists. But unfortunately such examples are the exception. In our rayon committee, up to the present time, instructors have merely carried out individual missions. The Novo-Pokrovskiy Rayon Committee adheres to the outmoded method of directing kolkhozes through "representatives" (polnomochnyy). Instructors primarily are used for this function, and they are justly called "nonstaff deputy chairmen of kolkhozes." Undoubtedly they carry on constructive work, but at the same time a large segment of Party organization work is left with no supervision by Party instructors and with no control by the Party rayon committee. Since instructors are limited to general errands, they have no time to analyze the activity of Party organizations. They criticize secretaries of primary organizations and demand that they correct unsatisfactory situations but suggest no concrete measures to aid the Communists and the Party organization in achieving their aims. It is well known that most secretaries are seriously in need of assistance and that many of them are not acquainted with Party work methods.

Underestimation or misunderstanding by secretaries and bureau members of rayon committees of the significance of Party political work is the basic cause of the Party instructors' failure to carry on continuous liaison between the rayon Party committee and the primary Party organization and thus to achieve more positive results in day-to-day work. The level of activity of many kolkhoz Party organizations is below the demands of the day. Politics is separated from economics, leading to serious backwardness in the rayon in fulfilling the most important economic tasks.

The Fourth Congress of the KP(b) of Kazakhstan required Party organizations to cease the practice of confusing organizational and educational work with administration, to emphasize the role of the primary Party organization, and to improve methods and style of leadership of soviet and economic institutions. But this decision was not put into practice in Novo-Pokrovskiy Rayon. Resolutions were passed, but nothing was done to realize them. The Semipalatinsk Oblast Committee failed to note such practices and did not look into work methods in its rayon committees.

Training of the rayon committee workers themselves is of great importance in Party organizational work. Rayon committee secretaries should work

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attentively with them and aid them in raising their qualifications. Many workers are studying independently, but there is still much in Party practice which they do not know. When working with Party organizations and aiding them in organizational work, instructors must deal with practical questions which demand considerable experience and knowledge. Therefore, the rayon committee secretary should tell instructors what results he wishes to see from their work in primary Party organizations. But secretaries confer with instructors only when they send them as "representatives" to kolkhozes. Upon an instructor's return, at best, he speaks with section managers, or, at worst, he writes reports and often does not know what action is taken upon them. One instructor was sent to investigate misuse of livestock at the "Novyy Byt" Kolkhoz. He completed his mission conscientiously and wrote a report, but nothing was done about it. Another instructor disclosed gross violations of kolkhoz regulations, but only with the aid of the oblast Party committee could he have measures taken. Such an indifferent attitude inspires a lack of confidence in the instructor, lowers his authority, and does not generate a feeling of responsibility for his work.

I do not remember a single case where workers of our rayon Party organization met to discuss Party work or where instructors met to exchange experiences. Discussion of previous work and plans for future work would obviously strengthen discipline in the organization and increase instructors' responsibility for Party organizations assigned to them.

The TsK VKP(b) in March 1947, directed instructors to provide "a more complete study of economic and political processes and also of the condition of Party organization and experiences of its work." Therefore, it is necessary to teach instructors to understand economic and political processes. Unfortunately, the Party secretary in our organization rarely does this, and even instructors with long experience often find it hard to make a thorough analysis of the state of Party control over economic activity.

The huge tasks before the Novo-Pokrovskiy Rayon Committee of the Party necessitate a more positive approach to Party organizational and political work, a basic revision of the style of leadership of primary Party organizations.

At the conclusion of Rakhimbayev's letter the editors invited discussion by Party workers in the pages of Kazakhstanskaya Pravda. In the next 3 weeks there was much comment in both editorials and letters from readers. A lead article on 28 September commented:

Comrade Rakhimbayev's letter bears witness to the fact that the Novo-Pokrovskiy Rayon Party Committee has lost contact with the primary organizations, uses incorrect methods of leadership of kolkhozes, and entrusts its business to temporary "representatives," who do not carefully study the affairs of the agricultural artel. Thus, not having analyzed the activities of the primary Party organizations, the rayon committee limits their initiative and lowers their responsibility in fulfilling economic and political tasks.

Another example of poor direction is the Enbekshi-Kazakhskiy Rayon Party Committee. At the Kolkhoz imeni Voroshilov the grain harvest and delivery to the state is behind schedule, because the Party organization has lost sight of its most important task -- aiding the artel administration to organize the work of the kolkhoz. Party meetings are no longer held. The Party secretary mistakenly ignores the general harvest, because the kolkhoz administration has made him responsible for the work of the tobacco brigade. Thus, it is evident that rayon committees must, if they wish to achieve success, direct the primary organizations day by day and improve their work.

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On 1 October, there were three articles which described meetings where Rakhimbayev's letter was discussed. A summary of these descriptions follows.

An instructor of the Kaskelenskiy Rayon Party Committee stated that instructors do little intra-Party work and are often required to serve as deputy chairmen of kolkhozes. Neither secretaries and section chiefs of the rayon committee nor the oblast Party committee chiefs teach them methods and practice of Bolshevik leadership. Meetings for exchange of experience are not conducted. In 2 years this instructor had been called upon by the oblast committee just once, and then to collect membership dues.

The Party secretary of the "Komintern" Kolkhoz charged that instructors of the Kaskelenskiy Rayon Committee are little interested in their work. They are seldom seen in the kolkhoz, and for little or no reason they continually call the kolkhoz by telephone. When they do occasionally come to the kolkhoz, they are concerned exclusively with managerial-administrative affairs, the one type of "leadership" which the rayon Party committee has mastered. Instructors give orders to Party secretaries but do not teach them how to carry out their tasks.

The improvement of Party work depends largely upon theoretical training of instructors and other rayon committee workers. Many rayon committee secretaries not only do not provide this training, but send the instructors out for long periods of time as "representatives" to kolkhozes.

As soon as Rakhimbayev's letter was published, the Semipalatinsk Oblast Party Committee directed that it be widely disseminated and discussed at meetings of city and rayon Party committees and in all primary organizations of the oblast. The next seminar of Party secretaries took it up. Instructors and section chiefs of the oblast Party committee met to consider Rakhimbayev's complaints. An instructor of the Party, Trade-Union, and Komsomol Section of the committee said that Rakhimbayev was absolutely right in bringing up such important questions of Party work. He said that the role of the instructor was de-emphasized, and instructors were sent as "representatives" to kolkhozes for long periods of time. It was suggested that section chiefs and oblast committee chairmen teach instructors how to carry out economic and political tasks and increase their authority. A secretary of the oblast Party committee concluded that the chief shortcomings in the work of sections and instructors of the oblast committee are: failure to study and generalize the many-sided life of the oblast Party organizations, the limited scope of their work, insufficient initiative, failure to raise new questions before the rayon and oblast committees, and not giving enough attention to raising the qualifications of instructors and training them. Wide discussion of Rakhimbayev's letter will bring about measures to improve the leadership of Party and economic organizations, restore the role and responsibilities of instructors, and raise the level of all Party organizational and political work in the oblast.

Rakhimbayev's letter stimulated much discussion in the Republic Party School under the TsK KP(b) of Kazakhstan. General meetings were held, and many former rayon committee instructors, secretaries, section chiefs, and Party workers participated in discussions. They too emphasized the seriousness of Rakhimbayev's questions. They indicated that in actual practice in a significant number of rayon committees the role of instructor is de-emphasized and that he busies himself with everything but instruction of the secretaries of primary Party organizations assigned to him. One instructor remembered that in her organization, whenever workers from the oblast Party committee came to the rayon, the rayon secretary sent his staff out to the kolkhozes to avoid the charge that "the whole rayon committee is sitting in its office." Thus instructors and workers were sent not to carry out their own function but to "substitute" for kolkhoz chairmen. Other students emphasized the fact that instructors were not adequately trained by rayon

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Party committee secretaries and were often reduced to the role of clerks and errand boys. Practical proposals were made: regular meetings of interoblast and interrayon committees and seminars for instructors, publication in Republic newspapers of articles by leading Party workers on the work of instructors of Party rayon committees, and exchange of experiences in the pages of the press.

For another week articles in similar vein continued to appear in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, and on 8 October 1949 the discussion was summed up in the lead editorial as follows:

Comrade Rakhimbayev's letter brought a wide response at all levels.

The TsK VKP(b) and Comrade Stalin demand that, to hasten the country's post-war development, Party organizations constantly improve political leadership and learn to combine Party-political and economic work. Oblast, city, and rayon committees of the Party must coordinate and check on the work of soviet, economic, and social organizations, supervise the political activities of workers, and increase Party-political work.

Meanwhile, individual Party committees are failing in their leadership role, performing administrative functions not within their jurisdiction, taking the place of soviet agricultural organs, and depriving them of their individuality. This practice distorts the role of Party organizations and leads to perversion of political work among the masses. Party organs are responsible for political leadership, and economic progress depends upon widespread and thorough political work among the masses. Oblast, city and rayon committees of the Party must depend upon the primary Party organizations to combine Party political and economic work and must achieve leadership of enterprises and kolkhozes through them.

Many valuable proposals have been made by Communists in discussions of Comrade Rakhimbayev's letter. Kolkhoz Communists expect more concrete aid from rayon committees in working out the economic and organizational problems of the kolkhoz. For this the members of the committees must thoroughly study the operation of primary Party organizations, have closer ties with them, and improve the instruction of Party organization secretaries and the work of seminars.

All workers of the Party committee must take part in instruction. City and rayon committee secretaries must share their experiences with and teach Communists as much as possible. The role of the Party Committee instructor must be re-emphasized and his work organized so that he can carry out his direct responsibilities -- spending a large part of his time with primary Party organizations and assuring an increase in Party political work. He must be given more help in carrying out these responsible duties.

After this editorial, intensive discussion of the Rakhimbayev letter fell off, but for several weeks occasional articles on the subject continued to appear. On 16 October, a long article was devoted to a discussion of "Instruction, the Most Important Part of Leadership," which gave more definite information on the instructor's work. Excerpts from this article follow.

A great role in rendering practical assistance to local Party workers is played by instructors, the numerically largest group in the Party apparatus. The instructor is the responsible representative of the Party committee to the Party organizations.

A decisive factor in the success of every instructor is direct, vital ties with Party organizations. He must be well informed about his organizations' economic and political conditions and what is going on in the rayon and city. His primary responsibility is to aid Party organizations to correct shortcomings, to teach Communists the art of Bolshevik leadership, and to generalize and disseminate continuous experience.

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Comrade Rakhimbayev has revealed unfortunate errors in the work of instructors and in the use made of them. The instructor is not a clerk; he is not an auditor. The instructor strives for fulfillment of Party decisions. The criterion for his work is not the number of defects he can report in his organizations, but how much improvement there is after he has worked with those organizations.

To know conditions in the organizations assigned to him, the instructor must carefully study the minutes of their meetings and read the rayon newspapers, various reports, and documents from enterprises and institutions in his territory.

The activity of the instructor is directed and checked by the secretary and section heads of the Party committee. They must organize his work so that he can spend a large part of his time with the Party organizations assigned to him.

On 22 October there were three more articles describing reactions to the Rakhimbayev letter. Excerpts follow.

At a meeting of the Semipalatinsk City Party Committee, three secretaries of primary organizations made valuable proposals. One suggested that instructors should concern themselves with the condition of Party discipline, as well as with studying conditions in the shops to which they are assigned and with teaching primary organization secretaries how to improve intra-Party work. At present many secretaries do not even attend seminars and avoid meetings of Party active workers.

Another secretary felt that the city Party committee had been relying on a very small group of active workers instead of drawing more Communists and non-Party workers into active political work for the Party. He recommended that the city committee strengthen its ties with primary Party organizations and help them increase their political work.

The Rakhimbayev letter stimulated great interest among Party workers in Alma-Ata Oblast. Oblast and rayon committee meetings were held, and at these meetings instructors proposed measures for correcting shortcomings in Party work. The oblast committee decided to call an all-oblast meeting of secretaries of Party organizations of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and MTS and also a 3-day seminar of instructors for discussion of their work and exchange of experiences.

In the Balkhash city committee, discussion of the Rakhimbayev letter brought out serious shortcomings in Party work: instructors were scorned, their proposals were ignored, and they were not used as teachers. Proposals were made for correcting the Party work of the city committee and for restoring the role of the instructor.

On 25 October, a full page of eight articles was devoted to discussions of Rakhimbayev's letter. Comment here was more constructive and dealt with some positive work done by instructors, although the usual repetition and criticism and self-criticism was present in each article. Statements from these articles are presented below.

Instructor Fateyev of the Stalinskiy Rayon Party Committee in the city of Karaganda is a skilled political worker. He spends much time in the enterprises and dormitories assigned to him and is personally acquainted with all Communists and non-Party active workers. As a result, he is able to recommend specific persons for Party work when he advises the local Party secretaries. He also watches for shortcomings in the mines to which he assigned. For example, upon hearing that the work in one PZO school was unsatisfactory, Fateyev

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visited the school and the two mines where the students received their practical training. He came to the conclusion that a primary Party organization should be set up in the school to carry on political-educational work. The bureau of the rayon Party committee adopted Fateyev's proposal, Communists were sent to the school and now Fateyev assists the young Party organization in solving serious problems.

Fateyev realizes that Party work requires constant effort on his part. He studies in the rayon Party school, he reads Pravda and Bol'shevik and follows the local press. Literature and newspapers help him broaden his outlook.

The discussion of Rakhimbayev's letter has shown, however, that many instructors are not so close to their enterprises and primary Party organizations as Fateyev. They seek information for their bureaus but do not study the political and organizational problems of the primary organizations. They do not even read the reports of Party meetings. Instructors must correct these practices and become true political advisers.

This ended specific discussion of the Rakhimbayev letter. However, an article by N. Zhurin, Secretary of the Semipalatinsk Oblast Party Committee, appeared in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda on 23 November 1949. Whether or not the furor raised by Rakhimbayev's letter was responsible is not indicated, but Zhurin made several commendatory remarks about agitational work in various rayons in the oblast. He also criticized certain rayon committees for underestimating the importance of political agitation, for not training agitators, and for not drawing leading workers of the rayon into daily political work. He emphasized the fact that the oblast committee systematically hears reports of rayon and primary Party organizations and seeks to improve agitational work.

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